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474 575 halls, the *balé bandjar*, a club-house without special religious [345] [423] significance, with its drum-tower to call to meetings. The *balé bandjar* is provided with a kitchen and with all sorts of cooking-[422] implements: pots and pans, chopping-blocks, knives, etc., which are lent to members who require them. The *bandjars* also own the village orchestras and the dancing-properties — costumes, masks, and head-dresses — which are stored in a *gedong*, a brick building where they are safe from theft or fire.

517 575 The men spend most of their spare time in the *balé bandjar*, gossiping, trying out their fighting cocks, watching a rehearsal of a play or of the orchestra, or just sitting. If the *bandjar* is prosperous, it takes great pride in giving elaborate banquets with music and entertainment. These may happen at the great national festivals, at the anniversary of their little *bandjar* temple, or at the inauguration of a new roof, a new orchestra or dancing-group. But also the private festivals of the members become *bandjar* affairs, and *bandjars* like Belaluan, where we lived, celebrated 574 252 feasts with staggering frequency. Only the men may prepare 462 banquet food, and often we were awakened in the middle of the 575 night by the *kulkuls* calling them to kill the turtles and the pigs [202] for a feast. Banquet food takes long to prepare and the animals have to be slaughtered in the middle of the night to ensure the freshness of the meat and of the sauces in the difficult climate of Bali. After two in the morning before a feast everybody was busy; the men chopping meat, cooking, scraping coconuts, building sheds and altars; the women carrying water, making offerings, cutting out ornaments of palm-leaf or wrapping individual packages of *sirih* and betel for the guests.

574 517 By noon the banquet took place, the men sitting in the *balé bandjar* in two long rows facing each other with their individual mountains of rice, pig, and turtle meats served in large squares of banana leaf, drinking *tuak* and making loud jokes. When the [515] [264] meal was over, *kendis* of water were passed so that the guests could wash their hands and mouths. The rest of the day and 517

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community and most especially acts that would weaken the village magic, such as temple vandalism, theft from the gods, arson, running amuck, and murder, some of which may be punished by the killing of the offender on the spot. Everybody has to report, armed, immediately upon the signal of alarm (the fast continuous beating of the large *kulkul*), to be ready to extinguish a fire or to stop a man that has gone temporarily insane and has run wild. In Den Pasar one afternoon the alarm call was sounded. It was the siesta hour, but instantly everybody was up and out; they grabbed sticks, spears, agricultural implements, or whatever was at hand and rushed out, some on bicycles, towards the sound of the *kulkul*. Everybody in the *bandjar* turned out and on the road we even met the old judge, our neighbour, who could hardly walk, but who tagged along brandishing a great sword. It turned out to be simply a fire that was quickly extinguished with everybody's aid. When the excitement was over, we returned home with the crowd, listening to their reminiscences of recent cases of alarm and of men who ran amuck and were killed on the spot. Desecration or theft of temple property, if at night, can also be punished with immediate death. One night in a village near Kesiman two men were caught in the act of robbing the temple. The alarm was sounded and the villagers killed the two men as they put up a fight. They showed us the weapons that were taken from the thieves.

Other serious offences are the consistent failure to perform village duties, disobedience to officials, refusal to pay fines, repeated absence from meetings, theft of village property, especially of legal village documents, adultery, incest, bestiality, rape of an immature girl, witchery, the cutting of certain trees, theft of irrigation water, or damage to another's property, like allowing cattle to trample a planted field. Crimes against the prince, or even against Brahmanas, are severely punished, but they do not affect the spiritual cleanliness of the village — one more instance of the position of the aristocracy as outsiders. An old man told us that in former times a prince might kill or mutilate a man for

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585 appear rich and extravagant, there is considerably greater ceremony than at the weddings of the common people. Often formal
[202] invitations written on palm-leaves are sent to near relatives, in which is stated the nature of the wedding present that they should bring along – the one I saw asked for four ducks – thus keeping the present tactfully within the means of the donor and avoiding repetitions. In this manner the relatives co-operate in meeting the expenses, for among such families there are always innumerable guests of rank to be lavishly entertained with banquet food and theatricals. Early in the morning the house of our aristocratic friend in Pemetjutan began to fill with impressive noblemen dressed in their best and wearing jewelled krisses, who arrived with retinues of women and attendants bearing presents.
[304] The teeth of the bride and groom had not yet been filed and the greater part of the morning was spent in the hair-raising task, while the *wayang* music played in a corner of the crowded courtyard, mingling with the crashing of the cymbals and gongs of the orchestra that played out on the street. The male guests sat in the places of honour drinking coffee, eating pastry, and chewing
[538] betel-nut, listening casually to two professional story-tellers that sat in the middle of the court reciting the erotic passages of the great literary classic, the *Ardjuna Wiwaha*, also a rule at weddings, one man chanting verses in musical *kawi* language, while the other translated with rich and expressive tones into guttural everyday Balinese. The women wandered about among offerings and presents, in and out of the *metén* where the bride was being dressed, while the boy's father played host, seeing that everybody was taken care of, and directing the assistants who distributed trays of food and poured drinks.

After the teeth-filing was over, the bride and groom simulated domestic activities: she washed a handful of rice and cooked it in a clay pot over a small fire; the groom cut a branch of *twí*, the sort of acacia leaves used as a vegetable, which they cooked together in another pot. Next they were led to a platform erected in the courtyard, a bed with mattress and pillows in which was

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536 545 Before the *dalang* can perform publicly, he must be ordained by a priest in the *mawinten* ceremony, when mystic syllables are inscribed on his tongue with the stem of a *tjempaka* flower dipped in honey. Then he can perform the magic *tjalonarang* and may wear the knot (*prutjut*) worn on the hair by priests.

There are no announcements made when a *wayang* show is [202] to take place. Somehow the rumour spreads from person to person and there is a crowd even before the *dalang* arrives. By the time he begins to stretch his screen, a great mob has gathered, sitting quietly on the ground, giving no signs of impatience at the customary endless wait for the play to begin. It seems as if they deliberately waited until midnight to start, timing the show to end at dawn. Women and children sit in the front ranks facing the screen, the men are divided between the last rows and " backstage," the side of the screen where the *dalang* [562] sits, where they can watch the actual puppets. In Java it is a rule that the men look at the puppets, while the women see only the shadows.

The screen (*kelir*) is a piece of white cloth stretched on a wooden frame and lit by a primitive oil lamp (*damar*) that hangs directly above the *dalang's* head. The shadows are thrown on this screen by means of the lamp. At the foot of the screen is a section of the soft trunk of a banana tree, where the supports of the marionettes are stuck to hold them in position when they are not in motion. The *dalang* sits cross-legged next to a long, coffin-shaped wooden chest (*kropak*), where he keeps his puppets. Behind the *dalang* is the orchestra, the *gendér wayang*, [534] four xylophones, each played by a musician. Between the toes of his right foot, the *dalang* holds a piece of horn, a hammer, with which he knocks out rhythms on the wooden chest — indications to the orchestra.

When everything is ready, at the tock-tock of the *dalang's* toe-hammer, the orchestra begins to play the delicate, watéry music of the *wayang*, rich tone-colours and suspended tempos like bells and fountains playing a Debussian melody. A strange

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A *kulkul* or tom-tom calls the villagers together; it has different signals for meals, feasts, meetings. A fast, continuous beating is the signal of a village emergency

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But the bowl can be replenished again and
796 [708] again, simply by adding (*antoenin*) ordinary water from the temple's jar, mixing it with the few remaining drops of the *banjoen tjokor*, which make it holy.

[782] [784] [859] [789] When a woman comes bearing a baby into the temple, she brings a special offering to be offered at a special shrine. The child, until it has had its three-months-old celebration (*samboelan*) may not enter the temple. But at the first *odalan* following this ceremony the baby is brought to the temple, where his mother or aunt makes the obeisance for him at the shrine of Ratoe Ngeroerah, offering a *tipat dampoelan*.

796 789 Other special offerings may be brought at this time to the gods. At this *odalan*, for instance, a woman who had been ill fulfilled the promise she had made to the gods if she should be cured. These "promised" offerings (*penaoeran, sesanji, sesaoedan*) also may be chosen at will. In this case there were two tall *djerimpen* (5 feet high), *pengoelapan pengambéan*, *peras adjengan sesantoen*, and a pair of silver flower ornaments for the headdresses of the gods of Nagasari. When they had been offered, the silver flowers were added to the natural ones adorning the crowns of the little figures. Another woman brought a *penaoeran* of *djadja koes-koes* (cakes) with an "essence" of 150 cash; this she had promised to the gods when her cow was lost, and as she came upon it in a neighboring village, she could do no less than to fulfill her promise at the subsequent visit of the gods to their temple.

Now the women, when they had received holy water, could take their offerings home again, with the exception of the special offerings such as the *djerimpen* and the silver flowers. Those who had brought *adjoeman* carried them away, the poorer only by the two *tjanangs* (little trays of betel) left on the shrine of the gods.

In the temple the coming and going of women bearing offerings, the groups of women and children kneeling to be blessed, the priest busy dedicating the voluntary offerings, the players of the *gamelan* (orchestra) [533] assembling, made a scene of riotous color an ' confusion. All the people, all the *penjajah*, would shortly be called by the loud beat of the *koel-koel*. [202] When all had gathered, the orchestra would begin to play, and the gods taken down from their "seat" to be ceremonially escorted to the bathing-place (*bédji*).

Procession to the bath (Ke bédji)

796 [515] It was the hour near sunset when all the Balinese of the warm regions go to the bathing-place (*kajeh*). The word covers the two activities of "having a bath" and "fetching water" to be carried home to the house. At the *odalan*, the identical pattern is followed. The gods are escorted [776] to the bathing-place for their bath, and water is brought back to the temple. In the village of Sajan, the gods of the different temples go

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each to their particular bathing-place, just as it is customary for the villagers to go each day some to this spring, some to that, some to the river, according to habit and convenience. Here in the *Poera Nagasari* it is the custom to take the gods to a small shrine (*bedoegoel*) standing in the fields a hundred yards distant from the temple. This shrine is formed in the shape of a water spout, and the difficulty of its being quite dry is overcome by simply pouring in a jar of water at the top, and filling the vessels for holy water from the spout as the water flows through. In this way the water is symbolically "asked for" in the sacred spot.

7 : 20 p. m. The people were rather late in assembling, so that it had been dark for almost an hour when the procession set off to the bathing-place. The *koel-koel* (slit-gong) sounded to call the people to line up for the procession. The gods were taken down from the central shrine, borne on the heads of two women, the wife and the grand-daughter of the old priest. Small boys carried the ceremonial spears, and two men the parasols to "shade" the gods on their way. Other women carried the "regalia" (*bebaktan* — literally, that which is carried): the brazier, water-vessels, the bottles of palm-wine and rice-wine, the *pebersihan*, *rantasan*, and *tjanang rèbong* for the gods' toilet. Still others bore the offerings, the usual *soetji* set, with *pengoelapan pengambéan*, *sesantoen*, *pendètan*, and the *lis*. In the procession, those women who knew them chanted the old ritual hymns (*mekidoeng*), as they went along. The rear of the procession was brought up by members of the *gamelan* beating upon drums, cymbals, and gongs, beating out a rhythmic accompaniment to the march, in competition with high-pitched dragging measures of the women's singing.

At the *bédji* (bathing-place), a temporary altar (*asagan*) had been set up beside the little shrine, to hold offerings. The women bearing the gods stood facing the east, and before them were set down the *bebaktan*. The priest sat facing east, facing the shrine (to Betara Gangga). He began by the prayer dedicating himself (as on page 24), placing a flower in his ear — it was necessary to do this in case "something dirty might have fallen on his head on the way," so that it would be quite sure he was sufficiently pure to minister to the gods. He followed this with the dedication of the bell, and the sprinkling of the offerings with the "ordinary water" brought from the temple. At the same time an assistant poured out water from the *tjaratan*, onto the ground.

Then the priest prayed (*sesontèng*):

Balinese Version

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara Ratoe Betara Gangga, kénak Padoeka Betara, Ratoe Betara Nagasari djagi mekokobok, sepian Padoeka Betara angatoerang sarining Asep menjan madjagaoe tjenana, pingkalih

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The priest sprinkled the offer-
ings first with the one sort, then with the other. Then he wafted the essence of them "to all the gods, together with the *gendaroeva*, and the *widiadara-widiadari*."

Symbolic sweeping (Melis)

The assistants now took up the *lis*, and the priest prepared it with the usual ritual and prayers (see page 26). From the clay pot he dipped water with the coconut dipper (*siboeh pepek*) and poured it through the basket steamer (*koeskoesan*). A little group of assistants set out to visit in turn each one of the shrines in the temple, to purify them by the use of this *siboeh pepek*, *koeskoesan*, the *lis*, the three purifying substances, *tepoeng tawar*, *sesarik* and *teteboes*, and the *tirta pebersihan* in the bowl. They sprinkled, spilled, and waved the *lis* at each shrine, beginning with Soerja's, and ending with the *Panggoengan* outside the gate, and the two shrines on either side of the gate *Pengapit Lawang*. The meaning of this rite is thoroughly to purify the "seats" of the gods, for they are now to be asked to leave the common meeting-place in the central shrine (*Pepelik*) and to take each his place in his appointed shrine, so that the refreshments (*soetji*) may be served to them.

Seating the gods each in his shrine (Melinggih)

The priest asked the gods to be seated by singing the three *sloka* noted before (page 44) with the addition of this one:

Balinese Version

Ina arep ina padem
Ina mantera tan tewantja
Ina bakti ina widi
Sada siwa namasteste.

Sanskrit

hīnākṣaro hīnapado hīnamantras tathaiva ca
hīnabhaktir hīnavidhiḥ sadāśiva namo 'stu te.

English

(Though I am) lacking in syllables, lacking in words,
And also lacking in sacred formulae,
Lacking in devotion (*bhakti*), lacking in ceremonial,
O Sada-Śiva, homage to thee!

The *koel-koel* (slit-gong) was now beaten loudly to call the gods to the feast.

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A study of customs pertaining to Twins in Bali

by

JANE BELO.

Part I

Description of the Ritual at Sukawanā, District of Kintamani, Bali.

On the night of September 18, 1933, twins were born to a woman of Sukawanā. When the family saw that the twins were a boy and a girl, they knew that this was a great wrong, that disaster had come upon their house and upon their village. 845*

A brother of the father ran to the open place before the Balé Agung, the village temple. There he beat upon the *kul-kul*, the hollow wooden alarm, so that all the men of the village would come together to hear the direful news. And the sleeping villagers awoke in their tiny houses still warm with the dying coals of the evening fire, and came forth wrapped in their blankets, for at night it is bitter cold on the slopes of the Gunung Pēnulisan. [202] [138]

One by one they approached and took their places in the Balé Sēkāhā, the meeting place of the men. The ancient men, two Kēbayan and four Bau, priests and rulers of the village, sat cross-legged on the South East side of the platform, for that is *kajā* and *luanang* in Sukawanā, the direction of the mountains, the abode of the gods, and the highest place. When it was known that Ni Jungir had given birth to twins, of which one was a boy and one a girl, the ancient men said, "that is *manak salah*", that is to have children in a wrong way. And it was [344] [554] [516]